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ABSTRACT

This paper is an inquiry into integration through a study of the literature. Criterion elements in the "American rationale" for integration are determined and an examination of whether integration has, can, or will satisfy the criterion elements is undertaken. The discussion centers about the concept of culture and the purpose of education--how beneficial or detrimental the integration movement can be. The inquiry focuses on northern urban America's difficulties, problems, and interests in segregation, desegregation, and integration. (Author)

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AN INQUIRY INTO INTEGRATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by

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I. RATIONALE AND INTRODUCTION

Three hundred years ago, the black man was either seduced or brought in chains to this country and sold into slavery. In 1865, slavery was abolished and a solemn consititutional amendment three years later decreed the equality of all men (though not women). One hundred six years have passed and the promise of equality remains unfulfilled. A system of slavery has been changed into a caste system based upon race which may be more difficult to uproot than slavery itself. Furthermore, its attempted uprooting may now destroy by assimilation the vigorous and viable culture developed by the Black man in America. "Equality and freedom thorough integration" can be both an instrument of rejuvenation in American life (witness the acceptance of Martin Luther King) and an instrument of exorcism (the denigration of the beauty of Malcolm X).

This paper is an inquiry into "integration." It attempts to look into the elements of the "American rationale" for integration (why the cry for integration). Then the paper examines whether integration, has, can, or will satisfy these criterion elements. The discussion then centers about the concept of culture and the purpose of education. Will integration be a beneficial or a detrimental movement? Whom will it benefit? Whom can it hurt? The discussion centers around Northern urban America and focuses upon this area's difficulties, problems and interests.

It will become necessary in the course of the discussion to distinguish between segregation, desegregation, and integration. Segregation will be considered to be the involuntary separation (isolation) of one group of persons from another. Desegregation is the physical mixing of the two groups (usually the negation of segregation). Integration

may, for preliminary purposes, be defined as the lack of physical, social and psychological barriers between groups of people and their free associative mixing within their total milieu.

II. AN AMERICAN RATIONALE FOR INTEGRATION

A Background of Segregation

The background causes of de facto Northern segregation are: (1) the changing agricultural practices of the last fifty years which have caused a rural-urban population shift, A population shift of blacks to the North, to large cities; and of whites to the cities and then to the suburbs; (2) the growth of residential segregation; and (3) the effects of industrial cybernation on the job potential (Peck and Cohen, p. 179). Peck and Cohen argue that these transformations to a more apartheid social ecology have social-psychological concomitants: (1) the institutionalization of black poverty (a ghettoized impoverished class); (2) the internalization of racist values in the social context; and (3) a fertilization of social failure. The schools support this: (1) with an administration which manipulates school attendance boundaries, establishes optional attendance zones, shifts school feeded patterns, and by school planning and construction; (2) with a color-class milieu-- in the employment and placement of teachers, inadequate facilities, inferior educational materials; and (3) with a routinization of inequality in the school system using intelligence and achievement tests, and institutionalizing inequality by grouping.

The Negro inhabits a Malthusian world of subsistence living, enforced ideleness--either partial or total--acute physical discomforts, and an abundance of disillusionment (Lyford, p. 312). Willie argues (Willie, pp. 209-19) that an oppressed, deprived people are an alienated people. There can be

no doubt that the black in America is a deprived, oppressed, alienated people (Fanon, Malcolm X).

The Effects of Segregation

Hickerson states that segregation (separation and isolation) deminishes the opportunity for all members of the community of different races to have adequate contact with each other (Hickerson, p. 111-112). It tends to re-enforce feelings of rejection by members of a minority group. Schools with large numbers of blacks tend to be staffed by inferior faculties. From this follows the denigration of the school and its values by the Negro.

Solomon concludes that schools inculcate falsehoods : blacks are inferior, that segregation is the proper way of life in America (Solomon, p. 30-31). The system maintains substandard education to black children and causes them psychological injury. Segregated education has deeply dehumanizing effects on white children. The quality of education is degraded throughout the system. Professional values are subverted by acceptance of segregated education.

Morsell feels that segregation generates poor attitudes and motivation to learn and to achieve (Morsell, pp. 276-84). Nancy St. John argues that the atmosphere of school segregation (Nancy St. John, p. 293-4) produces unfavorable community perceptions of and attitudes towards Negroes, low expectations from teachers and parents of black children, low quality of schools. Segregated schools expose children to peers with low expectations of success, low academic norms, a high suspicion of whites and a strong lack of interracial contact. Kenneth Clark's self-fulfilling prophecy concept thrives in these circumstances: since blacks are not expected to aspire to such things as higher education, they do not (Smiley and Miller, p. 4).

Solomon notes the institutionalization of low expectations, commitment, and standards embodied in "difficult" schools (Solomon, p. 29).

The Massachusetts State Board of Education stated (Carter, p. 37) that racial imbalance in schools, which it equated with de facto segregation, is bad because: (1) it damages self-confidence and motivation; (2) it re-enforces racial prejudices; (3) it does not prepare children to live in a multi-racial world, nor does it prepare the Negro for job opportunities in a technological society; (3) it results in gaps in the quality of education among schools; and (5) it conflicts with the American creed of equal opportunity.

A Rationale against Segregation

Lewis believes that social justice, fairness, and the American democratic tradition demand an end to school segregation (Lewis, p. 115). Negroes are unqualified and disadvantaged because because of educational dificiencies which the schools should resolve. Segregation which is caused by prejudice and discrimination cause low socio-economic status which has put the black in the position that he is in today (Lewis, p. 130). Most blacks wish to be whites.

Holloway asserts that segregation is devastating to both the minority and the majority. Racial isolation is a detriment to learning in a multi-racial, culturally diverse, and democratic society and the needs of the minority and the majority in such a society. White students educated in all white schools are not ready to participate in a world full of diversity. Their self-esteem and assurance is to some extent based on a false notion of racial superiority ("Racial Segregation in Public Education," p.287). Segregation must be ended to produce heterogeniety in the school, aid educational achievement, erase prejudice and fear, and

erase attitudes of superiority-inferiority, anxieties, and stereotypes which accompany it.

Rousseve states that enhanced academic achievement for minority youth is not the most significant end of an integrated school. Common encounters are needed for sociological reasons: to feel comfortable and confident in the company of those whose ethnic or socio-economic identities differ from one's own (a broadening and liberating experience). With segregation, the isolated and alienated ghetto Black will not compete confidently in American society, nor will the sheltered suburban white be adequately prepared to cope with the world of tommorrow (Rousseve, pp. 44-45).

Peck and Cohen believe that the school's function is to provide equal opportunity for all (Peck and Cohen, p. 198). The school determines the life chances of those who grow up in the United States. The school is an instrument of social mobility for its "clients." The school can either innovate or perpetuate (conserve traditional values of segregation and transmit them to the next generation).

Fischer contends that a policy of integration (a rationale against segregation) is: (1) to raise the quantitative indices of achievement of Blacks; (2) to alter the opportunities for Blacks, providing an incentive to them to succeed, and fostering a sense of intergroup acceptance which will raise the quality of living in America; (3) an appeal to equity and the humane principles that undergird the democratic enterprise; and (4) that it is necessary because until each American has full access to the means to develop his capacities every other American's chances and attainments will continue to be diminished (Fischer, p. 29).

A rationale against segregation is based upon appeals to: (1) equity and democratic principles; (2) psychological rammifications of segregation; (3) educational achievement as a means to social mobility and participation in modern society; (4) social rammifications of segregation; (5) philosophical and moral implications of cultural diversity.

The Contention of Integration

The critical role of education was noted in the Brown vs. Board of Education decision (1954). The denial of the opportunity of an education implied that a child could not reasonably be expected to succeed in life (Wright, p. 17). A racially segregated school for Blacks was an inferior school-- it was "inherently unequal." The court inferred that segregation and unequal opportunity were two sides of the same coin. Thus, Fischer can agrue that the two great educational handicaps, segregation and inferior instruction, must be attacked together (Fischer, p. 26). The Negro school must be eliminated because it will always be viewed as a lower status school (not as good, less desirable to attend no matter what), and the group in that school will be viewed as less able, less successful, less acceptable than the majority of the community.

Lyford remarks, "to find some hope in the situation [the plight of the Negro], one always returns to the public schools" (Lyford, p. 318). The contention of integration is that this is an appropriate institution to turn to. Sullivan notes that an ever-growing number of school officials are recognizing the positive educational implications of integration and that they are moving into the vanguard of the struggle to end all forms of segregation--de facto as well as de jure. He contends, "Segregation must be ended. This point should be self-evident." (Sullivan, p. 64.)

The morality of integration is not questioned. It is assumed that

integration is vitally necessary, and must be achieved as immediately as possible (Smiley and Miller, p. 4). Unfortunately, integration schemes (desegregation) do nothing, integration experiences for children which are positive are another question. The simplistic, legalistic approach (J. Skelly Wright, p.23) which presumes that desegregation plans (such as educational parks, redistricting, etc.), alone or in combination, when properly used, may well eliminate the inequality arising from the segregated schools in most areas.

There is a dilemma involved with the moral urgency of school integration as a signification of equality--if nothing else. This desire for equity implies nothing about the effectiveness of integration in fulfilling the remainder of the criteria used as a rationale against segregation.

One is led to relate integration to the question of the task of the school and its role as distinct from the family, church, government, etc.-- the transmission of knowledge and the development of intellectual skills (Smiley and Miller, p. 284). Racial integration, however desirable and necessary, may be the concern of other institutions in the community, and to disrupt the instructional process by attempts to provide integrated schools in a segregated society or metropolis may be an overextension of the school's role. Such an approach could take the school's attention from the tasks which only it is set up to do.

Goodlad also notes that the need to eliminate discriminatory policies and practices within our schools will be with us long after the most serious barriers to racial and socio-economic integration are removed (Goodlad, p. 15). He contends that desegregating integrated schools is a most difficult challenge along the road to equalizing educational

opportunity. Fischer recognizes that school integration would be more productive with parallel improvements in housing, economic opportunity, and general social conditions. He feels that their absence demands an increased urgency of action by the school (Fischer, p. 29).

The contentionsof integration cannot deny that our society is a racist one and that the schools share in the overall pattern of racism. One can only argue about the degree of racism, not its existence. The degree of racism may well determine whether or not school integration has the potential for achieving its ends (meeting its rationale).

Perhaps Kenneth Clark's eloquent musing is appropriate: "The poetic irony of American race relations is that the rejected Negro must somehow also find the strength to free the privileged white." (Clark, p. 240.)

Strong arguments against segregation have been produced. A rationale against segregation has been set forth. Many have inferred a "contention of integration" from this rationale. There is no logical consistency to this inference. Furthermore, there is no logical imperative that the methods of desegregation will lead to integration. The questions to be answered if one is to propound a policy of integration within our society, structured as it is, become, what are: (1) the psychological rammifications of integration (or desegregation); (2) the social rammifications of such a policy and how does such a policy affect educational achievement and learning; (3) the implications for cultural diversity and equity (democratic principles)?

III. EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION: UPON THE INDIVIDUAL'S PERSONALITY

There is no definitive position which can be taken with respect to the effects of integration upon the individual child's personality.

Evidence is available to support the proposition that "integration" is beneficial to black children and that "integration" is harmful to black children's personalities. An insufficient amount of inclusive, reliable research has been done in the last fifteen years. Most studies are restricted in scope and meager in method (Weinberg, 1970, pp. 381-2). Most studies are written in a vacuum . Many research findings are contradictory and puzzling. Little basic social and psychological research is helpful for the creation of a meaningful synthesis. Many social science concepts are of limited applicability to real life problems. Even less evidence is available as to the effects of "integration" upon white children. Few distinctions are made between voluntary and forced desegregation, long vs. short-term "integration" (or desegregation), and natural vs. "managed integration."

The research reports of the last quarter century (Haggstrom, pp. 40-41) are nearly unanimous in suggesting personality damages to blacks as a direct or indirect consequence of racial discrimination (not necessarily segregation). There is some research, though less clear evidence, to support the conclusion that segregation itself adversely affects Negro personality. There is nothing (Haggstrom, p.41) to indicate how the effects of "segregation" vary with conditions: voluntary separatism vs. involuntary segregation, legal vs. de facto, with or without equal status groups, etc.

It is clear that desegregation, the acquisition of non-hostile, non-racial identities within the overall society, and interracial "equal" primary relations instead of white dominance and work setting relations are consistent with healthy personalities (Haggstrom, p. 43).

It is also clear that in desegregated classrooms, young children

of primary age are less likely to be conscious or prejudice about race. Children of intermediate grades are quite aware of race as an element in our society and act on this basis in associating with other children in the classroom (Georgeoff and Paterson, pp. 76-77).

A Theoretical Basis for Judgment

Katz has postulated situational determinants on the effects of desegregation upon blacks which affect his personality and his performance (Katz, pp. 403-407). A negative effect of desegregation is the social threat upon blacks. White hostility, white power, and white indifference can lead to frustration of the need for companionship, lowered self-esteem, verbal harrassment, physical hazing, psychological stress (anxiety, etc.). The coercive power of whites (children or teachers) can cause the black child to abandon efforts to excel in order not to arouse further resentment and hostility.

A second negative effect is that of failure threat. This occurs when the probability of failure is recognized and is particularly prevalent in the middle range of expectancies. It is a combination of the level of expectancy with regard to success and the social consequences of failure.

A positive effect is that of social facilitation in which acceptance by white peers or friendliness and approval by white teachers evince higher motivation and increased adoption of scholastic norms of high status majority groups.

Peck and Cohen note that racial awareness and differences are internalized very early, white supremacy and preference become the norm with self-rejection of black within this context (Peck and Cohen, pp. 181-5). The black child thus maintains an internal conflict as he grows up and

develops techniques of self protection (also see Grier and Cobbs). His social failure in the white world furthers humiliation, worthlessness, and a self-hatred. Interaction with whites exacerbates these difficulties.

Negative Effects

A desegregated (integrated) school is still, in the world of today, a white-controlled school. Solomon believes that black children must be protected from the mental and moral destruction which white controlled educational institutions advance (Solomon, pp. 152-60). If the teacher treats the black child as he does any middle-class white child he threatens the black's self-worth, yet he knows of no other way to "repair the handicaps" of background. This phrase, "handicaps of background," implies an aspect of a presumed inferiority. Can a black child maintain his integrity in the face of such well-meaning daily assaults on his personality? Can the white teacher in an integrated school learn to widen his definition of what constitutes an acceptable self (Smiley and Miller)?

Hodgkins and Stakenas have found that the Negro self-concept among Negroes is no different than the white's self-concept among whites. The negative self-concept of the black by the black holds only among whites (when blacks relate to whites--are in a situation with whites). There is a considerable degree of black self-adjustment and self-assurance. The individual's perceived self is seen as an object in a social situation. It is not dependent upon values of the total society, but upon an individual's evaluation of his performance in terms of role expectations and in terms of whom his significant others are, whom he interacts with, and who has the greatest direct social control over him (Hodgkins and Stakenas, p. 376). The implication is that successful social integration (desegre-

gation without a significant modification of prejudiced white attitudes could lead to negative consequences for the development of Negro self-concepts.

Gregor notes (Gregor, p. 109) that in every complex society men reach selectively to their fellows. In the public school age range there is evidence that in "well integrated" school environments psychodynamic personality impairments (such as rejection of one's own race, inferiority, etc.) are in greater measure and intensity than in segregated schools (Gregor, pp. 106-7). Within this age range the black child is, in a desegregated environment, subject to a competetive disadvantage. An adequate self-system can only be the consequence of a positive self-appraisal. During the period when the self-system is being articulated (public school age) integration gives every evidence of creating insurmountable tensions for the individual black child and impairing his personality for his lifetime (Gregor, p. 107).

Nancy St. John, in a study in a New England city found that blacks (high school juniors) made no distinction between educational plans and preferences (Nancy St. John, pp. 284-94). There were no differences between these and the degree of segregation (per cent black in school) in early schooling. It did not matter whether the blacks came from the South or had always lived in the North. Her conclusion was that the level of aspiration was not associated with de facto segregated schooling. Furthermore, desegregation, by placing blacks in a more favorable social milieu might tend to raise aspirations and achievements, but this was offset of the unfavorable competetive position that they were in and its concommitent threat to self-esteem and motivation.

Klineberg notes the ethnocentricity (white Protestant), and socio-economic-centrism (middle-class) of school readers (Klineberg, pp. 167-76). Since textbooks and mass media provide the chief vicarious models for children and are rarely found to portray minority children as themselves or minority contributions, they either show no image, or a denigrating image of the minority membership to the minority member. Even the minority child's own language is rejected at the "integrated" school (Smiley and Miller, p. 126). How can desegregation of these facilities add the black's image of himself (his personality)?

Dentler and Elkins determined that prejudice (social distance) was higher in unsegregated schools than in black or white segregated schools. They hypothesized that this was because the area studied was undergoing a rapid ethnic residential change where intergroup exposure took place in an educationally unplanned, unregulated fashion. The ecological reenforcements to present prejudiced situations (home, groups, etc.) would have to be broken by "integrated" guidance and instruction to have successful desegregation (Dentler and Elkins, p. 74). In this study both blacks and whites were consistently prejudiced towards disapproval of blacks and towards biased preferences for whites (Dentler and Elkins, p. 75). The degree of prejudice increased as the percentage of blacks in the school increased (Dentler and Elkins, p. 68). These results challenge the assumption that the black-white distribution in a school district has a simple or direct consequence for social learning or academic performance. A case for school desegregation cannot be made from psychological evidence from unsegregated schools.

Positive effects

Positive Effects

The conclusion that segregation produces feelings of inferiority in blacks and lowers their motivation to learn does not imply that desegregation will either end these feelings of inferiority or prevent them from occurring with a new generation. There have been studies which indicate positive effects of desegregation and which contradict, to some extent, the conclusions reached above.

Jessup examined a regular and a "distinctly superior" program in two segregated schools and an "integrated" school at the second and fifth grade level. The lowest socio-economic status minority student in the desegregated school had a distinctly more positive self-concept and a slight increase in achievement compared to the same status minority student in either segregated school (Jessup, pp. 78-98). She hypothesized that this was caused by the development of a sense of personal identification and a more realistic sense of self apart from racial status in the desegregated school. In the segregated schools the individual identified his social potential with his racial status. In the desegregated school there were other dimensions present.

Webster and Kroger determined that black adolescents in a desegregated school with white friends did have more favorable self-images or self-concepts and also expressed higher levels of aspirations for themselves than did those without white friends. Blacks with white friends had more positive images of themselves as individuals, and of themselves as Negroes, but not more positive images of Negroes as Negroes. (Webster and Kroger, pp. 76-7). Perhaps these blacks were simply losing their group identification or taking on a snobbish prejudice of their own.

Vredevoe found that desegregation might effect discipline either positively or negatively (Vredevoe 1965, and Vredevoe 1967). It depended primarily upon the "competence" of the teaching staff, their attitude and interest in minority groups, the mental climate in which the student was working and studying, and the motivation and challenges of the program (whether the hate image, or jealousy, or foreignness would be transferred).

Singer concluded that interracial classroom experience may well lead to greater affective warmth on the part of white children towards Negroes but that this does not completely counteract negative parental attitudes--the children are still prejudiced (Singer, 99-116). White children with several years of "integrated" classroom experience have a more differentiated view of blacks than would white children with no such interracial experience. She noted an interaction effect with IQ since high exposure high IQ whites were the most favorably disposed towards Negroes. Purl reached similiar (though less reliable or valid) conclusions about blacks and whites in an examination of the community of Riverside, California.(Purl, pp. 147-54).

In a study of a small city in New Jersey, Caplin concluded (Caplin, pp. 3-6) that white and black children attending a de facto segregated school both had less positive self-concepts than did children attending a desegregated school. He also concluded that there was a significant positive relationship between self-concept and academic achievement. The newly desegregated school was significantly higher on self-concept than the less recently desegregated school. A "Hawthorne type effect" may be suspected.

Weinberg's review of the research indicates that the separate effects of class, race, and historical factors upon self-concept cannot be disentangled. He is confident that desegregation has more often than not benefited the black's self-esteem and aspirations (Weinberg 1970, p. 156). The research has not been able to relate any empirical findings of higher self-esteem or aspirations to a structure which explains such findings.

The evidence has not definitively indicated whether or not school desegregation has a positive or a negative value for black self-image and other psychological characteristics (see bibliographical note 68 for further affirmation). Strong indications remain that desegregation is not particularly valuable (positive) and may be harmful (negative). A complex, as yet not defined, set of factors are involved and present. Nevertheless, the root cause of black psychological problems is the racial discrimination, the prejudice, and the enforced white superiority in American society (Grier and Cobbs, Fanon, Malcolm X) which desegregation ("integration") does not and cannot alleviate.

The news release, "White Communities Not Ready for Integrated Schools," indicated that white people are not ready to integrate "just yet." They cannot relate to the needs of the Black people. Integration is far more than a physical problem of moving Negro children around to white communities. Right now it is psychologically more healthy for blacks to be with blacks. It is very possible to develop a whole Black people without sitting them next to white children. Perhaps some day a <u>rapprochment</u> can be accomplished, but not just yet.

IV.. EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION: ACHIEVEMENT AND LEARNING

There have been conflicting reports on the effects of desegregation (a movement towards integration) upon achievement and learning. Negro children who attend predominantly Negro schools have not achieved as well as other children, black or white. Their aspirations are more restricted than those of other children and they do not have as much confidence that they can influence their own futures. When they become adults, they are less likely to participate in the mainstream of American society ("Racial Segregation in Public Education," p. 287). The Negroes who have attended white schools until now have been a selected lot. Most blacks have attended black schools (Coleman, p. 3). It is not clear whether desegregation or integration will improve the educational achievement of the black student. One may also question whether it will hinder the achievement of the white student.

Achievement Improvement

Hansen presents a case for the improved performance of blacks in the Washington, D.C. schools after desegregation was enforced (Hansen, pp 241-4). He states that whites performed no worse than before (no adverse effects of desegregation on whites). Hansen's support for his statements is open to question. He says a great deal but substantiates nothing with hard fact. His position and the results were politically viable.

A research design (ANOVA with blocking) by Elliot and Badal for Oakland schools indicated that there was little dependency in reading or writing associated with the percentage of blacks attending the schools, but that math achievement scores were inversely related to the percent of black enrollment in the schools (Elliot and Badal, pp. 158-66).

Cohen shows that white peers were able to bring desegregated Negro achievement acores up to grade level. This was aided by a higher quality of teaching in the desegregated situation. Furthermore, he indicates that blacks who had attended schools with whites for many years only had half the "educational deficit" to make up. His argument, which is standard official position in Washington, was that school segregation implies lower achievement, inadequate jobs. And income, inadequate housing, etc. Therefore, desegregation implies higher achievement, etc. (Cohen, pp. 86-88).

Weinberg has done an extensive review of research studies on desegregation and he concludes that the evidence is strong that desegregation improves the academic achievement of Negro children (Weinberg, 1970, p. 87). He further notes that white children have not suffered a learning disadvantage from desegregation. He further believes that a case for "an ethnic style that is salient in the classroom has yet to be satistfied" (Weinberg, 1970, p. 24).

Coleman indicates that the achievement of minority children depends more on the schools they attend than does the achievement of majority pupils (Coleman, p. 21). This effect does not necessarily depend on the question of desegregation or integration. It may more readily be due to socio-economic factors (the family, etc.) and teacher characteristics (which have a small but significant effect on minority achievement but not on majority achievement). Coleman does indicate that peer group aspirations and educational backgrounds within the school are strongly related to pupil achievement. Furthermore, for black children, those in schools with a higher proportion of whites have a greater sense of control, which can also effect their achievement. His report indicates that achievement is primarily related to socio-economic status and factors and not to

schools (characteristics of schools, including "racial balance"). Very little achievement gain could be expected from the desegregation of [illegible] schools.

Bowles has reexamined the Coleman data and found that Coleman underestimated the effect of school characteristics upon achievement, but he still concludes that comparable achievement (equality of educational opportunity) will not be achieved by school characteristics (which could include desegregation) (Bowles, p. 90). He asserts that achievement of equality of educational opportunity cannot be achieved by the educational system alone (requires a redistribution of political power between races and among social classes).

The effect of peer groups and middle-class milieu upon achievement have been noted by others. An educational journal reported, but did not substantiate, that regardless of his own family background an individual student achieves better in schools where most of his fellow students are from advantaged backgrounds than in schools where most of his fellow students are from disadvantaged backgrounds ("Racial Segregation in Public Education," pp. 287-9). There can be a cost to the student's psyche and consciousness in "advantaged" schools.

Jencks notes the importance of student culture. He feels that the quality of education depends largely on the spontaneous interplay of habits, interests, and ideals which each group of classmates brings from its homes, partly upon the ingenuity of teachers and administrators in controlling this interplay, and <u>hardly</u> at all on the quality of the formal instruction offered by the teachers. He notes the importance of middle-class students as models (the opinion of ones classmates is what counts) (Jencks, pp. 300-1).

An implication or corollary to this effect is that the Negro must be "whitened, middle-class-ified," in order to achieve as his white brothers have achieved. Acceptance of white, middle-class values and not desegregation (integration) becomes the determinant of better (higher) achievement and all its promised, yet not guarenteed, rewards (higher status, etc.).

The well-known argument of education as the key to vertical mobility (jobs, housing, and so forth) is raised as incentive, reason, and rationale for black achievement (learning). The chance to get ahead in the modern world depends in considerable part on education. Education is directly related to acceptable attainment and future income (Clark,B., pp. 58,71). Unfortunately, Deutsch points out that the Black, the Chicano, the Indian were socially never vertically mobile through learning (Deutsch, p. 38). Education has conflicting tendencies: (1) to stabilize social class, (2) to facilitate social mobility and status transference (Clark,B., p. 75). Jencks notes that children will rarely work hard in school merely to get rewards after graduation (Jencks, pp. 296-7). They succeed only where, at least covertly, they enjoy the ritual of the classroom, the library, and the laboratory. Middle class values remain normative as well as descriptive for learning, but the cry of "he can if he will," does not equal the will to learn, nor the ability to learn.

Lack of Improvement in Achievement

Dentler and Elkins argue that in large northern cities an increase in intergroup exposure will enhance academic achievement and social learning where: (1) the exposure is effectively patterned; (2) the staff welcomes all groups equally; and (3) the contact is so designed as to re-

duce the perceived threat or other modes of conflict (Dentler and Elkins, p. 61). They insist that no research contradicts their argument, but admit that no rigorous, sustained large-scale studies have been accomplished which prove their thesis. Fischer admits that there is a lack of evidence that better racial balance leads to better learning. He also concedes that solid, objective evidence on this question is difficult, if not impossible, to find. He feels that those that have already been "integrated" were probably better to begin with and that the time has been too short to determine much anyway (Fischer, p. 28). One might wonder whether talking about those that "were probably better to begin with" contains an inherent racial or class bias.

Katz notes that there is considerable evidence for social rejection and isolation stress phenomena with black children as well as a fear of competition with whites (Katz, pp. 414-8). He provides experimental evidence to show that these kinds of stresses impair certain kinds of verbal and perceptual motor learning. Unfortunately, he does not derive any predictive variables for these effects (Katz, pp. 418-22).

There are substantial indications that desegregation does not, by itself, produce a significant improvement in achievement. Other factors seem to be present. There is a disparity in achievement between blacks and whites, but is integration the answer? Is the disparity in achievement, which can so far be only slightly diminished, dependent to a far greater extent on factors other than school segregation or desegregation? Is intellectual capacity or familial and socio-economic causes of far greater importance in the determination of educational achievement (Carter, p. 34)?

Learning, Achievement, IQ, and "Social Pathology"

What is the relationship between learning and achievement? Must one achieve on a test to learn? If the black is not achieving, might he still be learning? If the black cannot "achieve," can he still learn?

Jensen has attempted to account for the lack of Negro educational achievement on the basis of genetic differences between whites and blacks (Jensen, pp. 1-123). He indicates the lower mean of the IQ distribution for blacks than for whites and carefully shows how the "g" intelligence factor is primarily (75-80 per cent) determined by heredity, not environment. He further indicates the high correlation between achievement and general intelligence. There are real average differences between groups which are indisputably relevant to educational and occupational admission, and educational performance. They correlate with the inequality among racial groups in the attainments and rewards in this society. Intensive educational intervention, money, or integration will not help the situation. The situation demands a recognition of the two levels of learning ability. Level I learning ability (associative learning) is distributed uniformly in the total population. Level II learning ability (abstract reasoning) is distributed differentially (is found to a greater degree in middle and upper class populations). Therefore, more blacks (actually pupils of lower socio-economic class) learn by level I--associative--learning. Jensen's conclusion is that different styles of learning exist and pupils (ethnic groups) must be taught on the basis of the style of learning that best fits them; that produces the highest achievement for that group.

Jensen's argument for genetic differences has a number of failings (see Bodmer and Cavalli-Sforza). His transition from an extensive argu-

ment on genetics and IQ of blacks and whites to a relatively cursory look at levels of learning ability of socio-economic classes (which implied to him blacks and whites again) and suggestions of genetic effects are not very convincing. Whether or not one agrees with all that Jensen says, his suggestion of differences in learning styles as the key to successful achievement is inviting and supportable.

Lesser and Stodolsky have found that ethnicity and social class both show distinct differences in the level of mental ability of the group. They also found that ethnicity produced group differences in the pattern of mental abilities which were not affected by social class differences within the ethnic grouping (Stodolsky and Lesser, pp. 546-93). The original New York sample was "replicated" with a sample from Boston and the same conclusions resulted for the major ethnic groups involved. The results indicate that different ethnic groupings may best benefit from different approaches to learning (and achievement).

Many social scientists and educators presume a social "pathology"--a deficiency--in Negro life. Inherent in the social pathology concept is the superiority of the majority (white) view, approach, or "culture." This is an insidious form of prejudice and implied discrimination. E.g., Sullivan asserts that desegregation must be combined with a general program of educational improvement. He feels that it is not enough merely to mix youngsters, many of whom come from a background of educational deprivation. These children must be given special help to overcome this deficit and to succeed in the new environment (Sullivan, pp. 57-73).

Baratz and Baratz have examined the underlying assumptions of intervention programs and have shown that these programs tacitly label Negro behavior as pathological. These intervention programs and com-

pensatory programs constitute a form of institutional racism. Baratz and Baratz contrast such an approach with a cultural difference model which does not assume that the Negro is a "sick white man"(Baratz and Baratz, pp. 29-30). This approach will be elucidated in the final segment of this paper.

Reissman confirms that school culture rewards certain styles of learning (Reissman 1964, pp. 26-7). There is a creative potential which this society is overlooking. There are learning styles among the low income groups that represent unique, untapped sources of creativity for the United States. A careful "technical" approach is indicated since social and cultural problems are present which will not disappear rapidly (Reissman 1968, pp. 55-65). The best approach to learning is to have the minority child learn through his learning pattern (the cognitive patterns he follows).

It is well-known that there is a very strong, non-verbal component to black expression. Reading and language do not have the same significance to Blacks as to Whites (Greenberg, pp. 215-25).

The latest research indicates that a great deal of attention should be paid to learning styles and patterns. Desegregation (integration) does not represent a necessary nor a sufficient criterion for such a development.

V. THE EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND EQUITY

It has been argued that the contentions of "integration" (desegregation) with respect to its psychological rammifications and its effects on achievement, learning, and social variables (mobility, occupa-

tion) are, at best, tenuous. The primary foundation for a policy of integration or desegregation must be and has rested upon the moral principle of equity and/or the implications for cultural diversity or assimilation.

Equity, Democracy, and Equality of Opportuinity

In spite of the desires of naive observers, education in America has never offered a significant solution to the black man's dilemma in this country. Grier and Cobbs assert that any explanation of the black man's drive toward learning (education) must take into account the dearth of alternative avenues of expression (excluding sports) (Grier and Cobbs, p. 116). They believe it is an incredible act of faith for the black man to maintain a fervent interest in education and a belief in the rewards of learning when it is so clearly contradictory to his entire experience. A belief in equality is basic to the black conception of social organization (Grier and Cobbs, p.119). The belief is a bulwark against the idea that blacks are stupid, against the daily discrimination which the black experiences. This belief is the underpinning rationale of the black's drive toward learning (education) in this country. It also conflicts with the intellectual striving, competition, and evaluation of innate abilities characteristic of the majority culture. The end result of this contradiction is the alienation of the black intellectual in this society (Grier and Cobbs, p. 127).

This belief in equity and democracy is also voiced by the white majority. It is an important part of the ethic of America. Equal opportunity for all is a maxim, the denial of which, will not be overtly accepted by this society. Therefore, once its denial has become self-evident (cannot

be overtly denied), the social fabric of this society will demand apparent change; i.e., either the actual occurrence of equality of opportunity or a shifting of view and perspective which allows inequality of opportunity to become less visible (tokenism, a new labeling of effects, etc.). This moral reaction is a "gut level", non-rational reaction on the part of American society. It has accounted for: (1) the new laws of the past fifteen years demanding equity for all groups; (2) reports such as the Coleman Report, and sociological and psychological studies seeking out the "malaise of inequality" (attempting to document it); and (3) an irrational, unplanned drive towards desegregation and forced non-separation of the races (the drive towards "integration") in education. This drive has not been thought through, its consequences have not been completely examined, and many of its contentions rest upon unfounded assumptions. The results of such a drive may be devastating to the society and its minority groups.

Education as a Cultural Agent (Transformation or Assimilation)

The schools have little authority to push through a change undesired by students, parents, and public officials. The student also remains under the influence of home, neighborhood, and friends (B. Clark, p. 111). Change (desegregation or integration) from the top is most difficult. This is another way of saying that schools preserve and transmit culture, general and specific, for different groups. This cultural transmission is a fundamental link between educational institutions and the general society (B. Clark, p. 11).

Clark states that the educational system transmits culture, socializes the young, allocates men to occupations and statuses, and shapes the

racial-ethnic order (B. Clark, p. 121). Education can be an active cultural agent, working to change the balance of different attitudes and values in the population, and thus affecting the fortunes of different political and economic interests (B. Clark, p. 36). Formal education is always a cultural agent, doing the bidding of the general society and the specific social forces in it. Education can also be an innovating institution, affecting the general society and indirectly causing other institutions to do its bidding (B. Clark, p. 42).

Solomon argues that to bring about changes, the "integration movement" must shake up existing patterns of values, attitudes, habits, and relationships. These patterns constitute a weak and inadequate commitment to the education of minority group children. The movement must encourage the shaping of a new pattern which incorporates a "deeper and enriched commitment" to education by going beneath the surface of mechanical compliance or the mere provision of material means. It must "seek to influence the very spirit of the educational process" (Solomon, p. 152).

Is integration a means to an end, or the end itself? Whose culture is to be changed or altered by integration? Does integration imply a transformation in American culture or an assimilation of minority groups(a loss of the Negro as black)?

Jencks states that the schools are a microcosm of the middle-class adult world. The schools should therefore systematically introduce its pupils to that world (Jencks, pp. 287-308). Smiley and Miller see a conflict between cultural values, realistic expectations, and motivation to learn tasks set by the schools (Smiley and Miller, p. 133). How can one construct the curricula with this in mind, and how can one

keep a pluralistic society and values? Can one teach children the values, attitudes, and behaviors which are denied them in the larger society?

Clark asserts that different minority values tend to disappear as the various minorities accept the dominant American values, including the emphasis on individual achievement and the attention to education as a means of achievement (B. Clark, pp. 87-8). The norm in America is to become "pro-education." The minority becomes assimilated by the majority culture.

Minority members are considered as deprived--"too mobile," They are negatively defined by the majority. Presently, the black man espouses many values congruent with those of white America. This is a dilemma for the black man. The gap between what the "Black" children should know and what they actually do know to be in accordance with white cultural standards becomes wider and wider. There is a vicious cycle of interaction between student characteristics and teacher response which lessen achievement and therefore lower opportunity (B. Clark, p.99). The acceptance of the majority values by the minority does not imply a change in majority attitudes about the minority.

One may question whether education can change the attitudes (the culture) of the majority toward minorities, and induce greater tolerance and lessen prejudice. Howard is suggesting that education has done no such thing when he writes: "Is not the unlovely way the disadvantaged are seen much of the problem? To be known as disadvantaged blocks out much of anything else. The label 'problem' increases social separation and may itself justify the mistreatment the disadvantaged receive" (Howard, p. 153).

Human beings cannot live in a social vacuum. They must live in a culture. Each child must live in a culture. Mackler and Giddings note that as a term, "cultural deprivation" conveys the alienation and prejudice of whites in America towards blacks (defines a social pathology) (Mackler and Giddings, p. 205). Negroes are defined as inferior because they do not live in the dominant culture. The term "cultural deprivation," in its coinage, its usage, and its national acceptance reflects the white man's bias towards Negroes.

Murray stresses that blacks are neither creatures of a deficient and dehabilitating culture ("cultural deprivation"), nor uprooting Africans cruelly denied their rightful heritage in a "white America." He feels they are Americans. They are as much a part of America's "cultural mainstream" as is any other group of Americans. The social pathology thesis is simply a white sociologist's nightmare (or daydream) that shows a basic lack of understanding of Blackness. The question which remains is whether this society can or will accept and change with that which it does not understand, or whether it must not accept, assimilate, and thereby eliminate Blackness.

A Framework for Integration and Separatism

Actual school integration implies making the existing racist pattern in America abnormal and substituting an educational process in which the black and the white children and teachers learn and work together as a normal condition and with the development of normal relationships. Integration implies "the sharing of a mutually self-affirming educational experience by students from a variety of ethnic, religious, social, and economic backgrounds" (Wilcox, p. 25). Desegrega-

tion is the mere physical mixing of groups. Wilcox maintains that an authentically integrated school should be reflected by the efforts undertaken to enable the students to acquire the skills, insights, and knowledge to protect their right to be human (Wilcox, p. 27).

The drive for integration, as distinguished from the drive for desegregation, cannot be a drive to enter white schools, but one to broaden the cultural base of all schools for educational objectives. It becomes the quest to free man (Howard, p. 151).

Integration should presume the actual mixing of two cultures and the transformation of their separateness into a unique "third world." Both cultures have much to offer the other. Rousseve delineates the following offerings from black culture: cooperativeness and mutual aid (extended families); avoidance of strain of excessive conformity; freedom from parental overprotection; chidren enjoying each other with less sibling rivalry; informal enjoyment of music, games, and humor; zestful acceptance of the physical dimension of the human condition without feelings of guilt and anxiety. He lists the following offerings from white culture: a concern for order; cleanliness, industry; perseverance; honesty; justice; active participation in government, good citizenship; broad formal education; high level development of human capacities; strong, durable family units (Rousseve, pp. 42-50).

The meaning of integration, as inferred from what has actually been taking place, is quite different than the above. The distortion of the meaning of integration and the attempt to apply collective and organized political-economic power are the primary reasons that black separatism is becoming more and more accepted in America by many who are not "segregationists." Integration has implied an assimilation and co-

option of one culture by another, not a transformation of cultures and society. Wilcox states that "the skin color, life style, and mores of Black people have required that they think and behave white, and reject themselves and the Black masses in order to integrate" (Wilcox, p. 24). The integrated black man must play at being white and middle-class. Integration as a white theory and in American practice has been, for the black man, a willingness to give up one's own attributes and to lose racial self-identity by merging with the dominant group.

Black are increasingly rejecting "integrated education" because such education is incapacitating in terms of both understanding and alleviating the Black condition. There is no irony in the fact that most educated people, Negro and white, are not educated to deal with Blacks as people or to understand the true nature of their problems.

Separatism does not imply impairment and pathologies, personality impairments and lack of "development." An "inferior" status of one culture in the eyes of another culture does not imply such results as: status frustrations, self-rejection, and other attendent disabilities. When the "inferior" culture has a coherent sense of possessing an integral and significant culture of its own such a label as "inferior culture" has little significance. (Gregor, p. 113). Thereupon, black can be (becomes) beautiful.

VI. WHEN INTEGRATION -- WHEN SEPARATISM

W.E. DuBois once said: "The Negro needs neither segregated nor mixed schools. What he needs is education." (Weinberg 1964, p. 11) He felt that other things being equal, the mixed school is the broader, more natural basis for the education of all youth. It gives wider con-

tacts. It inspires greater self-confidence. It suppresses the inferiority complex. DuBois also realized that all things were not equal and under such circumstances, separate and equal schools, where Negroes teach Negroes, seemed to him to be preferable.

"Integration" (actually a form of desegregation) in this country is primarily substantiated on moral grounds and the bases of other appeals in its rationale are either open to substantial doubt or are erroneous in their premises. An appeal for cultural diversity presently implies a separatism. This separatism can also be eloquently advocated by a "collective power" rationale. The prima facie evidence that the advocacy of integration in this country does not imply an authentic integration makes the separatist approach more acceptable. One may question whether the separatist approach implies non-integration.

Handlin has presented the following distinction (Handlin, p. 271) between two views of integration:

1. Integration can refer to the openness of society, to a condition in which every individual can make the maximum number of voluntary contacts with others without regard to qualifications of ancestry (a leveling of barriers to association other than ability, taste, and personal preference). This approach implies the improvement in Black opportunities for jobs, housing, and schooling even though the group may remain as separate as before.

2. Integration can mean a condition in which individuals of each group are randomly distributed through the society so that every realm of activity contains a representative cross-section of the population (a racial balance). Public policy, the drive to integrate in America, has been of this latter condition.

One must examine the ultimate objective, the goal of integration: equality. Is it possible to reach toward equality while retaining the social subgroupings, the diversity of culture, which exists? Is the ultimate objective to eliminate the differences that actually divide the population of the country and dissolve its people into a single, homogeneous and undifferentiated mass?

Integration, defined as the diminution of differences implies an impossible surrender of identity. Ghettoes maintain their existence because they are distinct, they allow group pluralism, and they take the edge off the harshly competitive psychological and social conditions of open society (Handlin, p. 276).

There is no evidence that racial balance itself improves the capacity of the underprivileged to learn, nor that the enforced contact of dissimilar children has significant educational advantages. There is abundant evidence that Black children have distinctive needs in the America of today that require special attention with reference to school. An awareness of group identity and a determination to deal with its problems is the most promising path to equality. Blacks deserve preferential treatment in education because their present needs are great. To receive it calls for the recognition of the special character of the situation and not for costly efforts to artificially commingle children in the interests of the ideal of balance (Handlin, p. 282).

The ultimate illogic of proposed integration is to deny the separateness of the Negro and to inhibit him from erecting the communal institutions which can help him cope with his problems in America. Segregation had the function of establishing "Black inferiority." The

awareness of separate identity functions to generate the power for voluntary action. To confuse the two hopelessly confuses a struggle for equality.

Handlin indicates that desegregation is necessary to end discriminatory measures that aim at subordination. It will solve no more. The inadequancies of the political system, unemployment, inferior education, poor housing, delinquency must be attended to by other means. With reference to none is integration a meaningful mode of action though in some the Black's situation calls for special treatment.(Handlin, p. 284).

Integration cannot wipe out the past, nor should authentic integration be expected to have this kind of effect. Society must accommodate blacks as equals on equal terms. This would be a true integration. Blacks will find it advantageous to organize and act as a group as long as common memories, experience, and interests make them a group. Whites, the majority, must accept this also. This is a part of equity. There is no one mainstream into which every element in the society must be swept, and education, the mouthpiece of a society, must not seek to invent one.

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